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THE OBJECTS OF A ROMAN'S PRAYERS¹

The majority of Roman prayers were for practical, concrete things, whether good or evil, for the Roman, unlike the worshipper of to-day, might pray for evil as well as for good—for assistance in theft, for the death of an enemy, for vengeance upon a murderer, for riches and honor, and the like. Juvenal, for instance, writes², 'Needless, then, or, to speak more accurately, vicious are the objects which are sought in prayer'. Horace bitterly satirizes³ the type of man whom the people believe to be good, the man who, while he is sacrificing, cries to Janus and to Apollo that all may hear, but in an undervoice prays to Laverna, the goddess of theft, that he may be able to deceive, that he may appear before men as just and holy, that his sins and cheatings may be cloaked. Again, Persius complains⁴ that his fellows petition aloud for a sound mind, a fair name, and trustworthiness, but that their real prayers are for the death of a kinsman or a ward, or for the finding of treasure. Such persons, in order to make their prayers acceptable to the gods, dip their heads two or three times in the waters of the Tiber. Vergil offers us three illustrations of prayers for evil. As the body of his son lies at his feet, slain by the sword of Pyrrhus, Priam prays⁵ the gods to bring a like fate upon the murderer. Evander invokes⁶ the gods that the murders and other high-handed acts of the tyrant Mezentius be visited in kind upon the Etruscans themselves. Ascanius, before entering into combat with Romulus, calls⁷ upon Jupiter to aid him. In return for the god's assistance Ascanius will offer sacrifice at his altar. Catullus prays⁸ the gods to inflict evil upon one who has harmed his friends. The story is told in Velleius⁹ that Merula, who, before Cinna's arrival in Rome, had abdicated his office as consul, having opened his veins with suicidal intent, implored the gods to vent their wrath on Cinna and his party. When a praetor has displaced Propertius in Cynthia's favor, Propertius pleads¹⁰: 'But do you, Venus, now aid me in my grief. Make him destroy himself with his endless lechery'. Juvenal again and again satirizes prayers offered, in all seriousness, to the gods. He writes¹¹: 'Nearly always the first and the most usual prayers in all the temples are that riches, that power may increase, that our money coffer may be the greatest in the whole city'. Sejanus, the commander of the praetorian cohort under Tiberius, prays¹² for honors

and for wealth; but in these he finds just so many storeys, as it were, of a lofty tower from which he is doomed to plunge all the farther to his destruction. The Lares whom Tibullus invokes with tenderness and affection Juvenal represents the Romans of his day praying to as follows¹³:

'... Little Lares of mine, whom I usually entreat with flakes of incense or spelt or slender garland, when shall I "bag" some game to give me security for my declining years, to protect me against the mat and staff of the mendicant?'

The objects of this man's prayer include twenty thousand sesterces in interest, small dishes of plain silver, two sturdy slaves, a 'stooping engraver' (*curvus caelator*), and a painter. These he considers a wretched return for his piety. The poet Eumolpus in Petronius's Satyricon complains¹⁴ that men pray, not for eloquence, wisdom, a sound mind, or health, but for the death of a rich neighbor, or for the discovery of hidden treasure.

But the Romans also prayed for concrete things which were 'good' in our sense of the word. Such prayers usually are for crops and flocks, for fair weather, for rain, for food and water, for the preservation of one's possessions.

Varro, in his eightieth year, sold his farm to Fundania. In the Introduction to his treatise on agriculture, dedicated to Fundania, he names¹⁵ the proper gods for a farmer to invoke: Jupiter and Tellus, who have as their special provenance the care of the crops, the Sun and the Moon, because, through their influence on the seasons, they determine the time suitable for the sowing of the seeds and for stowing away the garnered crops, Ceres and Liber, because their fruits are necessary for the sustenance of man, Robigus, who keeps off mildew and rust, Flora, who dispels evil influences which cause flowers to bloom unseasonably, Minerva and Venus, in whose care are the olive and gardens respectively, Lympha and Bonus Eventus, since without water and luck no crops can come to full fruition.

I have elsewhere¹⁶ discussed the prayers recorded in Cato, *De Agricultura*, and so it must suffice here to summarize one of them¹⁷, that to Mars, made at the time of the lustration of the farm, usually held in May. There are three elements in it: first, a petition that Mars ward off evil influences, a power which he possesses by reason of the fact that he is the source of these influences, second, a petition that he bring good influences to bear upon the farm, and, third, in some mystic way the god is to receive strength to act, by partaking of the sacrifice. The god Mars addressed in this prayer is, of course, a fully developed god, represented in the ritual of the State as the God of War; but the ritual here described harks back to an earlier, more primitive period.

¹The prayers to which I shall allude in this paper have come from my general reading of the authors mentioned. There has been no attempt to make a selection on any preconceived basis. The data here assembled may, then, be taken as a fair sample of what a Roman prayed for. The reader who is interested in an interpretation of the material here gathered may consult my forthcoming article in *Classical Philology*, to be entitled *The Nature of Roman Prayer*.

²10.54-55. ³Epistulae 1.16.57-62. ⁴2.3-16.

⁵Aeneid 2.535-539. ⁶Aeneid 8.484. ⁷Aeneid 9.625-629.

⁸28.14-15. ⁹2.22.2. ¹⁰3.8.13-14. ¹¹10.23-25.

¹²Juvenal 10.243-245.

¹³9.137-140.

¹⁴88.

¹⁵Res Rusticae 1.1-7.

¹⁶THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21.27-30.

¹⁷141.1-3 (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21.28, column 2).

Similar to the prayers of the farmer recorded in Cato is the *Carmen Arvale*¹⁸, the prayer which accompanied the ceremonial lustration of the State—a rite performed by the Arval Brothers. There was a ritualistic dance in three-fold time, with the sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and an ox (*suovetaurilia*). The purpose of this rite was to ward off evil influences from the State, just as the prayers in Cato were calculated to ward off evil influences from the farm.

At the country festival of Faunus, Horace prays¹⁹ that the god may be kind and gracious to his flocks; in return for this service he will offer in sacrifice a kid, wine, and incense. The youthful singers in Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* petition²⁰ Tellus for bountiful crops. The shepherds at the *Parilia* pray²¹ to Pales to keep off evil influences—wolves, disease, famine—and to bring good influences to bear—water, food, health; they repeated the prayer three times, while, facing the East, they cleansed their hands in morning dew. Ovid also invokes²² Pales to ward off evil influences from herd and herdsman. He begs the god to keep away disease and hunger and to bring health to flocks and men, to vouchsafe a goodly supply of water, food, cheese, and wool. The words of the prayer are to be uttered three times while the worshipper, facing the East, washes his hands in a running stream.

Another prayer²³ made at the *Ambarvalia* resembles the prayers in Cato²⁴. This prayer in Tibullus runs as follows (2.1.17–20):

'... Ancestral gods, we purify the fields, we purify the farmers. Do you drive evils from the bounds of our farms. Let not the planted field mock the harvest with disappointing blades. Nor let the lamb, slower than they, fear the swift wolves'.

At the festival called *Feriae Sementivae* Ovid invokes²⁵ Ceres and Terra for bumper crops for the farmer, for unhampered growth of the seeds, for protection from frost, for clear skies while the farmer is sowing the seeds, for refreshing rains when the seed has been sown, and that the destructive birds and ants, mildew and weeds, and inclement weather may be kept away from the crops. Ovid informs us²⁶ that the farmers pray to Fornax to temper the heat while the grain is roasting.

At the *Robigalia* the priest of Quirinus petitions²⁷ Robigus, the spirit of rust, to spare the grain plants and to allow them to come to full fruition under the favor of the seasons. He bids Robigus turn his forces of destruction upon weapons, not upon rakes and hoes and ploughshares.

Ganymede, one of the guests of Trimalchio in Petronius's *Satyricon*, recalls²⁸ the fact that in former days matrons, dressed in their best, barefoot, with flowing hair, would climb the Capitoline to pray for rain; that forthwith rain would fall in buckets full, and that the women would return home as wet as mice.

Like a modern worshipper, a Roman often prayed for spiritual good: for a peaceful, honorable old age, for a vigorous mind, for a calm spirit, for protection against a debasing passion, for freedom from covetousness, luxury, and angry passions, for an understanding of the laws of god and man. Like the modern worshipper, too, he might pray for the State and for those in authority, in praise of a god and for the favorable presence of a god. In this group we shall, for convenience, include prayers for objects, more or less concrete, for which even a Christian might petition: for cures from illness, to ward off evils such as disease, death, war, poverty, dangerous contact with strangers, for the protection of women in childbirth, for the safety of friends about to leave for foreign shores, to die on one's native soil. On the other hand, a Roman might pray for things which are not concrete and at the same time are not evil, but are of such a nature that a modern worshipper would hardly pray for them: for directions when he was uncertain what course to pursue, for success in love, that a sweetheart might keep her troth, for skill in law, for good luck.

Horace composed an ode²⁹ to commemorate the dedication of the Temple of Apollo in 28 B. C. In this ode he petitions Apollo, not for wealth, but for contentment with what he has, for a sturdy mind and body, and for an old age mellowed by song.

In the Tenth Satire of Juvenal³⁰ we find the lines the sentiment of which is familiar to those who know little else about Juvenal:

'... However, that you may have something to ask for when you vow the sacrificial entrails and the "holy sausage" from the gleaming white pig at your shrines, you should pray for a sound mind in a sound body'.

One should pray, too, Juvenal goes on to say (356–362), for a heart that has no fear of death, for freedom from anger, covetousness, and luxury.

While Catullus is trying to free himself from the shackles of his passion for Clodia he writes³¹:

'... Ye gods, if ever you feel pity, or if ever, even at the brink of death, you have brought aid to man, have regard for me in my misery. If I have led a life of righteousness, tear this bane and plague from me'.

There are sincerity here and an expression, seemingly, of belief in the gods; but, to my thinking, Catullus turned to the gods for the moment only.

Tiberius, in a speech in which he refuses divine honors from the people of Spain, is represented by Tacitus³² as praying to the gods to grant him a calm mind, with an understanding of the laws of man and god.

The welfare of the State was uppermost in the minds of many Romans, as is evidenced by the frequent prayers in its behalf; besides, the Romans were in sympathy, in outward show at least, with the attempts of their leaders to foster the State cults.

In the *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace, Apollo, as the Sun, is invoked that he may behold nothing greater than Rome (9–12); Diana, as Lucina, the goddess of childbirth (a function belonging primarily to Juno), is

¹⁸See John Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin*, 158 (Oxford University Press, 1874).

¹⁹*Carmina* 2.17.27–32. ²⁰29–30. ²¹*Tibullus* 2.5.87–106.

²²*Fasti* 4.747–776. ²³*Tibullus* 2.1.

²⁴*De Agricultura* 141.1–3 (see note 17, above).

²⁵*Fasti* 1.675–694. ²⁶*Fasti* 2.525–526. ²⁷Ovid, *Fasti* 4.911–932.

²⁸44. <See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 22.86, and note 11. C. K.>.

²⁹*Carmina* 1.31. ³⁰354–356. ³¹76. 17–26. ³²*Annales* 4.38.

invoked (13-24) that she may protect mothers with child and aid in the passing of laws promulgated by Augustus to encourage marriage. There is also a prayer (45-48) to the gods in general to grant, to the young, upright morals, to the old, repose, to the Roman people, wealth, descendants, and renown. A wish ensues (61-68) that Phoebus, the god of prophecy, the great physician, as he beholds the altars of the Palatine, may prolong the prosperity of the Romans for another hundred years. Horace prays³² to Fortuna that she may be gracious to Caesar in his expeditions against the Britains. In a poem³⁴ in which he declares his loyalty to Augustus he asks what gods shall be invoked to aid his disintegrating homeland. The gods that Horace suggests are determined by his allegiance to Augustus: Apollo, the Emperor's patron divinity (30-32), Venus, the ancestor of the Julian line (33-34), Mars, the father of the Romans (35-40), Augustus himself, Mercury incarnate (41-52).

Catullus, like Horace, composed a hymn to Diana³⁵ to be sung by a chorus of boys and girls. In verses 21-24 of this poem he says,

'...Be hallowed, no matter by what name you are invoked, and, as you have been wont in days gone by, so, through your gracious help, keep the race of Romulus safe'.

Propertius writes³⁶ a triumphal song in anticipation of the return of Germanicus from an expedition against the Parthians. In it he prays to Mars and to Vesta that Germanicus may return rich with spoils.

Ovid bids³⁷ the priest pray to the gods to perpetuate the ruling house which is responsible for peace. Again, he gives³⁸ a poetical version of the prayer which was offered when a new city was being founded, placing the words on the lips of Romulus:

'...Jupiter and Father Mavors and Mother Vesta, be propitious to me while I found this city, and all ye gods whom it is right to call upon in prayer, give ear. Let this work rise up for me under your protection. As mistress of the world, may its reach and power extend far; and may both the rising and the setting sun be under its shadow'.

In his account of Janus, Ovid prays³⁹ the gods to make lasting the peace just won through Germanicus.

Velleius, the seasoned old general of Tiberius, in the closing chapter of his compendium of Roman history (2.131), utters a prayer to Jupiter Capitolinus, to Mars Gradivus, and to Vesta, divinities who have been the cause of the greatness of Rome. He prays in behalf of the Roman people that these gods may preserve peace, that the Emperor may live many years, and that his successors may be equal to the tasks placed upon them.

While Pliny the Younger was Governor of Bithynia, he, along with the soldiery and the natives of the province, celebrated the day on which Trajan succeeded to the throne, with public vows and with prayers to the gods for the welfare of the Emperor and the State⁴⁰.

That religion was sometimes used for political purposes is shown by the account of the death of

Claudius, as recorded in Tacitus⁴¹. After the death of Claudius, which resulted from a dish of poisoned mushrooms prepared by Agrippina, the consuls still offered prayers for the recovery of the Emperor until his successor Nero was firmly established on the throne.

Many prayers of the Romans are in praise of gods and in thanksgiving for divine favors. Thus Lucretius begins his *De Rerum Natura* with a hymn of praise to Venus which is strikingly beautiful and entirely Roman in spirit. There has been much discussion of this hymn. Lucretius was probably cradled in the traditional religion of the day; but his acceptance, in later years, of the Epicurean philosophy made him a bitter opponent of the religion of his childhood. How, then, could he introduce his poem with a hymn to Venus? The answer seems to me rather simple. He was an artist, and, since he needed an artistic expression for his concept of a great creative, as well as a great destructive, force in the world, he fell back on his childhood association with the hymn, perhaps in connection with one of those lovely choruses which were sung in honor of Diana. It may be possible that we have here an unconscious outcropping of a genuine religious spirit, which is suppressed elsewhere in Lucretius's poem because of his overpowering hatred of religious superstition^{42a}.

Catullus composed a hymn to Diana⁴², which was to be sung by a chorus of boys and girls. The hymn is one of praise, and it names Diana's various attributes: she is the goddess of the mountains, of glens, of streams; she is invoked as Lucina by mothers with child; she is Trivia at the Crossways; she is, also, the Moon. The inspiration of such a hymn, as in the case of the hymn to Venus in Lucretius, probably was not faith in the Roman traditional religion: it is more than likely that Catullus had been present at one of the festivals of Diana if he did not as a boy actually sing in such a festival; and, being impressed with the ceremonies, including the hymn of praise to the goddess, he later composed a similar hymn.

Horace composed an ode⁴³ which seems to be a study for a hymn for the proposed celebration of 23 B. C., a sort of preliminary to the *Carmen Saeculare*. It contains an address to girls to sing of Diana, and to boys to sing of Apollo; in return for this worship, Apollo will ward off war, dearth, and pestilence from the Romans and from their Prince.

At the festival of Faunus, Horace thanks⁴⁴ the gods for his Sabine farm; he prays to Mercury not for increased wealth, but for the preservation of his present possessions.

Vergil gives at least one instance⁴⁵ where the gods are addressed in sheer thanksgiving at securing a desired boon. I mean the passage where Aeneas cries out, 'Hail, Penates, loyal to Troy'.

⁴¹Annales 12.68.

^{42a}See the next paragraph in the text. <On the subject of worship of the gods by Epicureans, and especially on the theme of prayer by them to the gods see two papers by Professor G. D. Hadzsits: Significance of Worship and Prayer Among the Epicureans, Transactions of the American Philological Association 39 (1908), 73-89, especially 88, and The Personality of the Epicurean Gods, The American Journal of Philology 37 (1916), 317-326. C. K.>

⁴³34.

⁴⁴Carmena 1.21. ⁴⁵Carmena 2.6.4-15. ⁴⁶Aeneid 7.120.

³²Carmina 1.35.1. ³⁴Carmina 1.2. ³⁶34. ³⁸4.4.

³⁷Pastor 1.721-722. ³⁹Pastor 4.827-831.

⁴⁰Pastor 1.287-288. ⁴¹10.100-103.

Dido, during the banquet tendered to Aeneas, calls⁴⁶ upon Jupiter to make the day merry both for Trojans and for Carthaginians, and upon Bacchus and Juno for their holy presence and favor.

After the prayers for crops and flocks the next in frequency are those intended to cure illness, to ward off evils of various sorts, and to protect prospective mothers.

Horace satirizes⁴⁷ the old man who runs from shrine to shrine, praying, 'One little request! Me alone snatch from death, for to the gods it is an easy thing to do!' A mother prays⁴⁸ to Jupiter to cure her son of a fever; if the god relieves him, she will make the boy stand naked in the Tiber. Tibullus in far-off Phaeacia prays⁴⁹ to the Penates and to the ancient Lar to spare him in this illness which, he believes, has been caused by Jupiter's anger.

Aeneas prays⁵⁰ to the nymphs of Laurentum and to the Tiber with its sacred waters to ward off dangers from the Trojans. Tibullus prays⁵¹ to the Penates and to the Lar to ward off the weapons of war, in return for which he, clad in festive dress, will offer a pig in sacrifice. During the disturbances following the death of Vitellius, when the states of Gaul were in revolt, Vocula, the Roman general, addressing his soldiers, invoked⁵² Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Quirinus to keep the camp of the Romans free from dangerous contact with the foreign Gauls.

In describing the part played by women in the Lupericalia, Ovid prays⁵³ Lucina to protect pregnant women and to ease their delivery. We have seen⁵⁴ that Diana, as Lucina, the goddess of childbirth, is invoked that she may protect mothers with child. At the conclusion of the poem⁵⁵ in which he celebrates the marriage of two friends, Statius prays to Cynthia and to Lucina that the happy pair may be blessed with children.

A birthday poem⁵⁶ addressed to Cornutus begins with the usual ritualistic command for silence. Whatever wish Cornutus shall make, his Genius, says Tibullus, is bound to grant. Tibullus concludes the elegy with a prayer that the Genius shall bring children to Cornutus and his wife.

Ovid bids⁵⁷ his reader stand by the side of the priest officiating at the Carmentalia; if he does so, he will hear the names of two goddesses never before known to him, Porrima and Postverta, so called because of the two possible positions in which a child may come into the world.

The Romans regularly offered prayers for the safety of friends about to sail to foreign shores. Horace invokes⁵⁸ Castor and Pollux to guide safely to Attic shores the ship which carries Vergil. Statius asserts⁵⁹ that he will pray for the welfare of a young friend while this friend is away from the city. He prays⁶⁰ to the gods of the sea to protect his patron who is about to voyage to Egypt.

In one of Propertius's most charming elegies⁶¹ the poet pictures a friend drowning and uttering these words as the black waters close about him:

'... Gods of the Aegean, lords of these waters, winds, and every wave that weighs down my head, whither are you sweeping my wretched youth? Guileless are the hands which I have brought to these waters. Wretch that I am, shall I be impaled on the sharp crags of the Alcyons? The azure god of the deep has taken up his trident against me; but at least may the tides bear me to Italian shores: this will be enough for me, provided they be my mother's shores'.

Our final group of prayers comprises those for directions to a person uncertain what course to pursue, for success in love, for making a sweetheart keep her troth, for skill in law, for good luck.

Aeneas meets his mother, who is disguised as a huntress maiden⁶². Though he does not recognize her as his mother, he realizes that she is divine, and so he pleads with her to lighten his hardships and to tell him his present whereabouts. In return for answered prayer, he promises that he will offer many victims on her altar. In the course of his wanderings Aeneas arrives at Delos, where he prays⁶³ to Apollo for a home, a city, and descendants, and that the god may, by some token, reveal his will concerning what course Aeneas shall pursue.

Catullus invokes⁶⁴ the gods that Clodia may keep her promise to be faithful to him forever. Ovid bids⁶⁵ prostitutes pray to Venus at the Vinalia for beauty and attractive ways, for witty conversation, and for the favor of the people.

Tibullus prays⁶⁶ Vulcan to destroy the verses which he has composed to Marathus. A Roman matron continually asked Janus and Vesta whether her par amour might expect the prize of oak leaves at the Capitoline Games. Juvenal addresses Janus thus⁶⁷: '... Pray tell me, most ancient of the gods, do you answer such persons as these? ... One woman consults you about comic actors, another will presently wish to recommend to your attention a tragic actor ...'

Pliny the Younger felt especial pride in the maiden speeches of two embryo lawyers, and prayed the gods that his young imitators might develop into greater advocates even than himself⁶⁸.

Perhaps the most interesting discovery from our study has been that a Roman might pray for evil, albeit in an undervoice, and that a purificatory rite had to be performed before the god would answer the prayer. Such prayers have been for aid in thievery, for the death of an enemy, for vengeance upon a murderer, for wealth and glory. We know that the usual purpose of a magic incantation was secretly to secure evil ends; such prayers for evil suggest a kinship between prayer and incantation.

But, though a Roman might pray for evil, there is abundant evidence that he prayed for spiritual blessings just as a modern worshipper would do, for an old age of peace and quiet, for a sturdy mind, for freedom from covetousness, for the State and those in authority, for the presence of a divinity and in praise of a divinity.

⁴⁶Aeneid 1.731-735. ⁴⁷Sermones 2.3.282-284.

⁴⁸Sermones 2.3.288-292. ⁴⁹1.3.33-34.

⁵⁰Aeneid 8.71-78. ⁵¹1.3.33-34. ⁵²Tacitus, Historiae 4.58.

⁵³Fasti 2.451-452. ⁵⁴Carmen Saeculare 15. ⁵⁵Silvae 1.2.

⁵⁶Tibullus 2.2. ⁵⁷Fasti 1.631-634. ⁵⁸Armina 1.3.1-8.

⁵⁹Silvae 5.2.159. ⁶⁰Silvae 3.2.1-49.

⁶¹4.6.57-64. ⁶²Aeneid 1.322-355. ⁶³Aeneid 3.85-89.

⁶⁴109. ⁶⁵Fasti 4.867-868. ⁶⁶1.9.49-50. ⁶⁷6.393-397.

⁶⁸6.11.5.

The number of gods mentioned in the passages on which this study is based (see note 1, above) is small when it is compared with the large number of gods in the Roman system. The names of the gods, with the number of times they were invoked, follow⁶⁹: the gods in general 19, Apollo and the Sun 10, Jupiter 9, Neptune, Castor and Pollux, and other water divinities 8, Venus 5, Janus 5, Vesta 4, Mars 4, Tellus 4, Ceres 4, Diana 4, Lucina 3, Lares 2, Penates 2, Pales 2, Moon 2, Juno 2, Silvanus 2, Robigus 2, the Genius 2, and the following 1 each: Fortuna, Vulcan, Magna Mater, Trivia, Fornax, Liber, Flora, Minerva, Bonus Eventus, Laverna, Faunus, Mercury, Fates, Bacchus, Night, Stars, Quirinus, Pan, Aeolus, Idaean Jove, Winds, Porrima, Postverta, Neria. In four prayers no god at all is mentioned.

The list is instructive. The largest number of prayers is directed to 'the gods' in general. This seems to show a trend, especially among the cultured classes, away from the traditional gods, a tendency which may be accounted for, in part at least, by the influence of Greek philosophy, especially Stoicism.

The fact that Jupiter and Apollo head the list of gods invoked perhaps indicates that the State and those in authority were uppermost in the thoughts of men when they were praying to their gods. The close connection between State and religion at Rome doubtless had much to do with this. The frequent mention of Apollo may be accounted for by the effort of Augustus to revive his own patron divinity in his capacity as the Sun god.

Frequent mention of water divinities suggests that the Romans fully realized their dependence on springs, rivers, and the sea. There is here the implication of drought, flood, and shipwreck, all of which squares with what we know of the dependence of the Romans upon water.

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ELI EDWARD BURRISS

JOHN EVELYN'S VERGILIAN PILGRIMAGE

John Evelyn¹, that seventeenth-century gentleman, admits (1.9) that as a boy in School he had been "extremely remiss" in his studies, "so as I went to the University rather out of shame of abiding longer at school, than for any fitness, as by sad experience I found..." It was he, however, who published the first English version of Lucretius (1.317), a translation into English verse of the first book, in May, 1656, "with innumerable errata by the negligence of Mr. Triplet, who undertook the correction of the press in my absence..."

On July 23, 1643, in the difficult last years of Charles I, Evelyn records in his diary (1.42) that, "finding it

⁶⁹The numbers indicated here were made on the basis of a slightly larger number of references than those given in this paper. The passages not cited were omitted partly because they defied classification, partly because there was doubt in my mind whether they were prayers or mere wishes.

¹Evelyn's diary may be found in Everyman's Library, Numbers 220-221. The Diary of John Evelyn, Edited by William Bray, With a Prefatory Note by George W. E. Russell (London and Toronto, J. M. Dent and Sons, New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1907).

impossible to evade the doing very unhandsome things, ... I obtained a license of his Majesty... to travel again". His absence from England continued until October 1, 1647. He travelled first in France and then in Italy. He arrived in Rome on November 4, 1644.

Since a leaf is wanting in the Diary, we do not know how and when he left Rome for Naples in the last week of January, 1645. On January 28, 1645, he records (1.145) his journey "on the Appian to the *Tres Tabernae* (whither the brethren came from Rome to meet St. Paul, Acts, c. 28)..." The "Yet very fair" ruins of *Tres Tabernae* that he describes are not so identified now, for Dr. Thomas Ashby (*The Roman Campagna in Classical Times*, 198-199 [New York, Macmillan, 1927]) says that the location of Three Taverns "is, unluckily, quite uncertain". The night spent at Piperno brings forth an outburst (1.146) on his "base, unlucky, stiff-necked, trotting, carrion mule", and this comment, "...In this town was the poet Virgil's Camilla born". The day following, with "a strong convoy of about thirty firelocks" (1.146) he went as far as Fossa Nuova, "where was the Forum Appii..." He describes (1.146) "the noble [Appian] way", "built by that famous consul", "ever and anon adorned with some old ruin, sepulchre, or broken statue..." He refers (1.146) to the famous discovery on April 16, 1485, of "the body of a young lady, swimming in a kind of bath of precious oil", and to the conjecture that this was Tulliola, the daughter of Cicero². Evelyn dined at Terracina and viewed (1.146) "the fair remains of Jupiter's Temple", and the Cercean Cave. Thence he went on to Fondi.

On January 29 (1.147) he "descried Mount Caecubus, famous for the generous wine it heretofore produced..." At Formiana (Formiae) men showed him (1.148) "Cicero's Tomb". He then went on to Caieta, and dined at Mola. He saw (1.148) Garigliano, the Liris, and Mons Massacus, celebrated for its wine, and the next day "the slender ruins of the once mighty Capua..." There is a delightful description (1.149) of the vines planted and trained on trees as they were in Roman times and still are in our own days.

On January 31, "About noon, we entered the city of Naples, alighting at the Three Kings, where we found the most plentiful fare..." On the day after his arrival, in the afternoon, he hired a coach to carry him about the town. Evelyn describes (1.150-151) the view of sea and city from the monastery and Church of the Carthusians, "...Mount Vesuvius smoking, the Promontory of Minerva and Misenum, Capreae, Prochyta, Ischia, Pausilipum, Puteoli, and the rest, doubtless one of the most divertissant and considerable vistas in the world..."

The long entry on February 7 tells how on Saturday they "went four miles out of town on mules, to see that famous volcano, Mount Vesuvius..." He describes the climb and the view (1.152-153), and refers to "the learned and inquisitive Pliny" (1.153) and to Spartacus. On Sunday (1.153) they

²Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 294-301 (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893), quotes the contemporary sources on this discovery and the mistaken identification.

visited the so much celebrated Baia, and natural rarities of the places adjacent. Here we entered the mountain Pausilypus, at the left hand of which they showed us Virgil's sepulchre erected on a steep rock, in form of a small rotunda or cupolated column, but almost overgrown with bushes and wild bay trees...³

Evelyn then describes (1.153-154) the tunnelled road "cut through a rocky mountain near three quarters of a mile (by the Cimmerii as reported, but as others say by L. Cocceius)..."⁴ Evelyn continues thus (1.154-156):

...At length, we were delivered from the bowels of the earth into one of the most delicious plains in the world...

We now came to a lake of about two miles in circumference, environed with hills.... The people call it Lago d'Agnano.... We tried the old experiment on a dog in the Grotto del Cane, or Charon's Cave.... Hence, we climbed up a hill, the very highway in several places even smoking with heat like a furnace. The mountains were by the Greeks called Leucogaiei, and the fields Phlegrean. Hercules here vanquished the Giants, assisted with lightning....

We now approached the ruins of a very stately temple, or theatre, of 172 feet in length, and about 80 in breadth, thrown down by an earthquake, not long since; it was consecrated to Vulcan, and under the ground are many strange meanders....

Hence, we passed again those boiling and smoking hills, till we came to Pozzolo, formerly the famous Puteoli, the landing-place of St. Paul, when he came to Italy, after the tempest described in the Acts of the Apostles. Here we made a good dinner, and bought divers medals, antiquities, and other curiosities, of the country-people.... We saw the ruins of Neptune's Temple.... Afterwards, we visited that admirably built temple of Augustus, seeming to have been hewn out of an entire rock, though indeed consisting of several square stones....

Presently (1.157-159) Evelyn "went to see the ruins of the old haven" of Pozzuoli (Puteoli), and "sailed to the pleasant Baia", and

rowed along towards a villa of the orator Cicero's, where we were showed the ruins of his Academy; and, at the foot of a rock, his Baths.... we pass by the Lucrine Lake, so famous heretofore for its delicious oysters, now producing few or none....

...we walked to the Lake Avernus.... This lake was feigned by the poet for the gates of hell, by which Aeneas made his descent, and where he sacrificed to Pluto and the Manes.... At one side, stand the handsome ruins of a Temple dedicated to Apollo, or rather Pluto, but it is controverted....

From hence, we ascended to that most ancient city of Italy, the renowned Cuma, built by the Grecians. It stands on a very eminent promontory, but is now a heap of ruins.... A little below, stands the Arco Felice⁵, heretofore part of Apollo's Temple, with the foundations of divers goodly buildings.... Now we entered the haven of the Bahiae...not without reason celebrated for one of the most delicious places that the sun shines on, according to that of Horace:

Nullus in Orbe locus Baiis praeclucet amoenis....

...we entered Bauli, observable from the monstrous murder of Nero committed on his mother Agrippina....

³Günther, Pausilypon, 203, explains that the real tomb of Virgil must now be under water, if it was originally by the road within the second milestone along the Puteolan Way. But the guides still must have a tomb to show to travellers.

⁴Günther, Pausilypon, 15-20, gives an account of this tunnel, for the modern student.

⁵The Arco Felice was probably a gate of Cumae. See Günther, 21.

Thus having viewed the foundations of the old Cimmeria, the palaces of Marius, Pompey, Nero, Hortensius, and other villas and antiquities, we proceeded towards the promontory of Misenum, renowned for the sepulchre of Aeneas's Trumpeter.... here runs the Aqueduct, thought to be dug by Nero.... Hence, we walked to those receptacles of water called *Piscina Mirabilis*, being a vault of 500 feet long, and twenty-two in breadth, the roof propped up with four ranks of square pillars, twelve in a row.... 'Tis conceived to have been built by Nero, as a conservatory for fresh water....

He passes (1.159) "the Elysian Fields, so celebrated by the poets", and "the ruins of the Mercato di Saboto, formerly a Circus..." Presently, he says (1.160), "our felucca...rowed us back again towards Pozzolo, at the very place of St. Paul's landing..."

In view of the reputation of Naples, in sanitary matters, at later periods, it is interesting to note that Evelyn speaks (1.160) of the streets of Naples as being well-paved and "very sweet and clean, even in the midst of winter..."

About February 7, 1645, he set out for Rome (1.161),

nor made we any stay save at Albano, to view the celebrated place and sepulchre of the famous duellists...the Horatii and Curiatii, <who> lie buried near the highway, under two ancient pyramids of stone, now somewhat decayed and overgrown with rubbish....

In June, he writes from Venice (1.194), that "travelers who come into Italy do nothing but run up and down to see sights..." He goes on to Padua (1.203), "a very ancient city, if the tradition of Antenor's being the founder be not a fiction..." He saw (1.208) "the bust, in white marble, of Titus Livius, the historian. In this town is the house wherein he was born, full of inscriptions, and pretty fair".

After Easter he went to Verona (1.218-219). The Arena there he thought to be "one of the noblest antiquities in Europe, it is so vast and entire..." He "saw those celebrated statues of Cornelius Nepos, Aemilius Marcus, Plinius, and Vitruvius, all having honoured Verona by their birth..." From Count Giusti's villa (1.219) he "had the pleasant prospect of Mantua and Parma, though at great distance..."

Presently (1.220) he "travelled over the downs where Marius fought..." He dined (1.220) "near the Lago di Garda, which disemboques into that of Mantua, near forty miles in length, highly spoken of by my Lord Arundel to me, as the most pleasant spot in Italy.... In the middle of this lake, stands Sermonea, on an island..." He came (1.220-221) to Brescia, and "would from hence have visited Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, etc.; but the banditti and other dangerous parties being abroad, committing many enormities, we were contented with a Pisgah sight of them..." He went to Milan (1.221), and then to Lago Maggiore (1.228), through which "passes the river Ticinus, which discharges itself into the Po...", and now "we began to leave <Italy> behind us".

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REVIEWS

Later Greek Sculpture and its Influence on East and West. By A. W. Lawrence. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company (1927). Pp. xvii + 158. 112 Plates. \$6.75.

Mr. Lawrence's book, *Later Greek Sculpture*, is unusually difficult to review, since it consists almost entirely of matters of detail and thus can hardly be estimated in general terms.

The contents are as follows:

List of Illustrations (vii-xi); Preface (xiii-xvii); Introductory (1-10); The First Hundred Years (11-19); The Ascendency of Pergamon (20-31); The Late Hellenistic Period (32-41); Adaptations of Older Work (42-50); The West in the Hellenistic Age (51-65); The Hellenistic East (66-76); The Hellenistic Tradition in India and the Far East (77-90); Bibliography (91-92); Appendix (93-133); Addenda (134-135); Index of Subjects (137-144); Index of Places and Museums (145-158).

The 112 Plates, each of which not infrequently contains two Figures, would form a top-heavy section were it not for the presence of the Appendix and the Addenda, which present an abundance of critical material together with references to the great majority of extant pieces of Hellenistic sculpture. The Indices are most gratifying, complete in all details.

This book naturally challenges comparison with the work which quite possibly may have inspired it—*Hellenistic Sculpture*, by the late Guy Dickins (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press [1920]). See *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 15.118-120. Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Dickins are curiously alike in temperament and manifest the same vigor and originality. But, whereas the latter was interested mainly in the stylistic analysis of Hellenistic works and in the business of classifying them under various schools, Mr. Lawrence is concerned, in the main, with the question of chronology. Indeed, he goes so far as virtually to repudiate the idea of the existence of any specially differentiated schools of Hellenistic art other than those of Pergamum and Delos. Alexandrian art bloomed, he thinks, only to wither. Rhodes seems to him to have exerted an artistic influence no more potent than that of the other business centers of the time. In short (2), "one style prevails everywhere".

The difficulties attending the proper chronological arrangement of the products of Hellenistic sculpture—in a period so restless, so full of 'movements', so given to experimentation—have long been known to students of antiquity. They are fully appreciated by Mr. Lawrence, but he makes an heroic effort, none the less, to work out a complete scheme. To what extent he has succeeded in matters of detail time alone will reveal. His method is sound enough—that of supplying the main supporting rungs of the chronological ladder by the agency of statues more or less definitely dated, and filling in the gaps by the various works that seem related thereto in respect to style. Unfortunately, many of the gaps are left perforce very wide, so that the problem at hand becomes exceedingly involved. The tendency toward eclecticism which is found in this period helps also to confuse the issues.

But, on the whole, Mr. Lawrence seems to have done very well indeed, though it must be confessed that the conclusion of the book leaves us with a certain sensation of doubt in our minds. Occasionally the author is found to be demonstrably in error, as in the case of the Bronze Boxer of the Terme Museum, which he attributes to the early third century B. C. Professor Rhys Carpenter's discovery of the signature, made subsequent to the publication of Mr. Lawrence's book and now well known, places the statue definitely two centuries later. It is clear that Mr. Lawrence has been misled by the resemblance of the Boxer's body to the torso of Heracles in the Metropolitan Museum and by the resemblance of his face to that of the Constantinopolitan Marsyas. In another place, however, he seems to have scored over Professor Carpenter. The Hellenistic Prince of the National Museum of Rome is far more likely a Demetrius I of Syria (29) than a Lucullus (so Professor Carpenter, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, 31 [1927], 160-168).

To discuss critically all Mr. Lawrence's attributions would call for the writing of a book considerably longer than the volume under review. It may be of particular interest to observe that he pays special attention to specimens of Hellenistic sculpture now in America. Many of his pronouncements on these differ markedly from the usually accepted views. A very few may be noted. He would place the Chian Head, in Boston, shortly after B.C. 350, and would assign it to some imitator of the early style of Praxiteles; to the same period, he thinks, belongs the Ponsonby Head, in the Fogg Art Museum. Professor Shear's female head from Rhodes he regards as "conventional work of second or first century". The Bartlett Head, in Boston, is also placed very late. Mr. Lawrence finds it lacking in fourth-century vigor. The Altoviti Venus of the Rockefeller Collection is pronounced a forgery. No fault, however, is found with the athlete's head in the Metropolitan Museum which Professor F. P. Johnson has recently, somewhat convincingly, declared spurious.

Fault may be found with various minutiae. The author is careless in his system of reference and even in his punctuation. But the book as a whole must be declared without hesitation to be stimulating and thought-rousing. We shall anticipate with much interest the publication of Mr. Lawrence's forthcoming work on classical sculpture.

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Classical Sculpture. By A. W. Lawrence. London: Jonathan Cape (1929). Pp. 419. 3 Diagrams, 28 Figures, 160 Plates.

The book under review, *Classical Sculpture*, has followed hard upon the heels of the author's *Later Greek Sculpture* (1927), itself a volume of goodly size (see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 23.111). The new work presents a systematic account of the sculptor's art from the early beginnings in Greece to the commencement of the Middle Ages. The opening chapter,

on Bases of Knowledge (21-32), is followed by sections treating The Historical Significance of Classical Art (33-41), The Purposes and Content of Classical Sculpture (42-47), Materials and Methods (48-63), Copies (64-71), Deities and Attributes (72-80), and Greek and Roman Dress (81-85). There follow a detailed account of Greek Sculpture (81-304) and a somewhat cursory treatment of Roman Sculpture (305-384). A very suggestive chapter on The Transition to Byzantine Art (385-400) is succeeded by a Bibliography (401-405) and an Index (406-419). A series of 160 excellent Plates, together with some 30 Figures in the text, serves well the purposes of illustration.

A criticism of Mr. Lawrence's book, *Classical Sculpture*, very obviously suggests a comparison with the universally known *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*², by E. A. Gardner (Macmillan, 1915), the sole other work in English which has been constructed on the same lines. That the study of ancient sculpture is entering upon a new, and —with every respect to the older scholars, one may say, a healthier era—, is made manifest by the most superficial examination of the two books. Dr. Gardner is much concerned with the letter of literary tradition, and no small portion of his excellent *Handbook* is occupied with extended enquiries into the activities of ancient artists who are still, despite the labors of scholars throughout the past century, somewhat shadowy figures. I refer to sculptors such as Calamis, Euphranor, and Alcamenes. With these and many lesser craftsmen who bulked large in the older histories of art Mr. Lawrence is but little concerned. His interest lies almost wholly with the surviving remains of classical sculpture and, like Miss Gisela Richter in her recent book (*The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, Yale University Press, 1929), he is much less intent upon the matter of 'attribution' than upon the attempt at delicate criticism and at determining the correlation of extant works of art. Very clearly, Mr. Lawrence has been greatly influenced, directly or indirectly, by the system of examination pursued by the school of Professor J. D. Beazley in the province of Greek vases.

The volume contains an extraordinary amount of information. The text has fully 160,000 words, and, thanks to the author's unusual gift for condensation, the actual length might be computed at nearly a half more as related to the work of an average writer. It will hardly serve as a textbook except for students

who are well-grounded in the subject. In spite of the picturesqueness of Mr. Lawrence's style, the book is hard reading and calls for particularly close attention. It is indeed a great deal more than a handbook; it constitutes an entire reexamination of the details of classical sculpture.

Mr. Lawrence is no weigher of authorities. His decisions are based as a rule on his personal judgment. He is possessed of a remarkable fund of out of the way knowledge, and his powers of observation and of association enable him to worry through the maze of perplexities that beset the way of him who attempts to follow this most difficult of subjects. He makes it all seem absurdly simple—not by the use of the single rule of thumb which is the stock in trade of the 'crank', but by the application of a hundred rules. No doubt he has sometimes followed a wrong lead. He has, indeed, been obliged more than once to alter the position which he took up in the earlier volume. But, if he has followed the right paths over even two-thirds of the way, one can hardly feel disappointed with the results. He seems to possess the unusual faculty shared by such men as Mommsen and Dörpfeld, Furtwängler and Beazley, for making definite progress in a direction which seems barred to the majority of scholars.

It is very probable that *Classical Sculpture* will exert an influence on the criticism of the coming decade which, if not equal to that of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst*, will certainly be as great as was that of Furtwängler's *Meisterwerke* on its day and generation.

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PIO BAROJA AND HORACE

In an interesting essay by Pio Baroja, a translation of which is found in *Living Age* (September 15, 1929), under the title, 'Myself', occurs the following sentence:

"The strong man who contemplates the sovereign people can follow one of only two courses: he can dominate the mass and subject it with his hands, as if it were a wild beast; or he can inspire it with his ideas and thoughts and in that way win another form of domination".

The author seems to have had in mind Horace's lines, *Epistulae* 2.1.156-157:

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artis
intulit agresti Latio.

The other "form of domination" is illustrated by the well-known simile in *Aeneid* 1.148-153.

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